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THE GOAL OF NATIONALISM

DISCLOSED BY

IRISH HOME RULERS.

A RECORD OF DISLOYAL
SPEECHES, RESOLUTIONS, ETC.,
IN IRELAND AND AMERICA.

Edited, with a Preface and Introductory Notes, by

IAN MALCOLM, M.P.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

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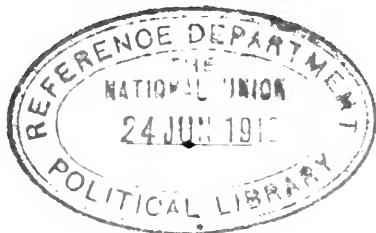
CONVICTED.

A RECORD OF DISLOYAL SPEECHES, RESOLUTIONS,
LEAFLETS AND POSTERS, PUBLISHED IN IRELAND
AND AMERICA BETWEEN 1880 AND 1911.

Edited,
With a Preface and Explanatory Notes,
BY
IAN MALCOLM, M.P.

"Thine own mouth condemneth thee and not I : yea, thine own lips testify against thee."

JOB xv., 6.



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DEDICATED
TO THE
IRISH NATIONALIST PARTY
IN
RESPECTFUL RECOGNITION
OF THEIR
UNCHANGING DETERMINATION
TO ACHIEVE THE
GREAT GOAL
OF
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

FOREWORD.

THE Home Rule Bill of 1912, like its ill-fated predecessors, puts enormous power into the hands of the leaders of the Nationalist Party. If it should pass into an Act, the responsibility will rest with the people of the United Kingdom.

It is well, therefore, that the people of these Islands should be fully informed, before they commit such far-reaching power to any body of men, as to the past history and character of those to whom they are asked to delegate the whole future of Ireland.

Nothing would be gained by setting forth a prejudiced appreciation of the leaders of the Nationalist Party, such as might naturally be expected from one of their opponents.

I propose, therefore, to confine the following pages to extracts from their own speeches and to comments from their own newspapers. These will, I hope, be sufficient to prove to the electors of the United Kingdom what manner of men they are. The quotations are drawn, almost at haphazard, from the columns of Nationalist newspapers during the past thirty years. They could easily be multiplied an hundredfold.

I do not find that, either in policy or in feeling, the attitude of the Nationalist Party has essentially altered one jot since the days of Mr. Parnell. It is for this reason that I have compiled the following record from their own utterances—to show how unalterable is their sentiment of hatred to British rule, how careless their attitude to the honour of the British flag, how persistent their agitation for complete separation from the British Empire as the ultimate goal of “Ireland a Nation.”

It is true that, upon British platforms, some of them have put water into the strong wine of their denunciations. I have included some drops distilled from this adulterated beverage in my pamphlet, wondering how many of my fellow-countrymen will be induced to swallow them. To me it is little less than incredible that, with such a history behind them—a record of which they are all proud—any one of the present-day Nationalist leaders can expect British electors to believe in opinions so swiftly altered to suit the supposed requirements of Great Britain

and the Dominions, and so diametrically opposed to the flamboyantly disloyal speeches which have done duty for a generation past on Irish and American platforms.

To these men the Home Rule Bill gives all the power of governing Ireland in the years to come; to the Loyalists of Ireland the same Bill offers nothing but "safeguards." And why safeguards, if the Nationalists are men who can be trusted to exercise responsibilities so tremendous? Because, in the words of Sir Edward Carson, "We are asked to trust them upon the ground that we ought not to believe a single word that they have ever said."

For my own part, I am forced to believe, from all that I know and have read of them, that the Nationalist leaders will always stand by the opinions which they have expressed, and for which many of them have suffered, since the year 1880. These opinions, to do them bare justice, they have never recanted; and, holding them as they do, I submit that the British electorate should never entrust such men with the administration of Home Rule in Ireland or elsewhere.

IAN MALCOLM.

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IRISH NATIONALIST "HEROES" EULOGISED
BY HOME RULERS IN THE FOLLOWING
PAGES.

1. WOLFE TONE—A rebel, who committed suicide in
1798.

2. LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD—A conspirator in the
Rebellion of 1798.

3. ROBERT EMMET—Tried and hanged in 1803 for
rebellion.

4. JOHN MITCHELL—Founder of the *United Irishman*.
Sentenced to fourteen years' transportation.
Died in 1875.

5. SMITH O'BRIEN—Incited and led an unsuccessful
rebellion in 1848.

6. HUGH O'NEIL—An insurrectionary leader against
the English.

7. { RORY O'MORE } Leading spirits in rebellion of
 { OWEN ROE O'NEIL } 1641.

8. { ALLEN } The "Manchester Martyrs." Hanged in
 { LARKIN } 1867 for the murder of Sergeant
 { O'BRIEN } Brett.

THE LIBERAL CHARACTER—REVEALED.

Necessity makes strange bedfellows. During the past thirty years the Nationalist Party has alternately coquetted with and cursed the Liberals. The following extracts show how little confidence or respect Mr. Parnell and his followers felt and feel for Mr. Gladstone and his successors. Of late years, however, mistrust has ripened into contempt for a party which, according to the showing of its masterful ally, can only be made to "run straight" by threats of expulsion from office.—EDITOR.

MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P., 11th October, 1881 :—

"Mr. Gladstone's reputation for honesty in politics is a false reputation, and based upon a most extraordinary gift of skilful misrepresentation of facts . . . I have watched him more closely, and I know him to be a dishonest politician."

Dublin Daily Express, 12th October, 1881.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P. :—

"We feel bound to advise our countrymen to place no confidence in the Liberal or Radical Party, and so far as in them lies to prevent the Government of the Empire from falling into the hands of a Party so perfidious, treacherous, and incompetent. In no case ought an Irish Nationalist to give a vote to a member of the Liberal and Radical Party . . . the servile and cowardly and unprincipled herd that would break every pledge and violate every principle in obedience to the call of the whip and the mandate of the caucus."

Manifesto drawn up by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and issued to Irish Electors in Great Britain, 20th November, 1885.

MR. PARNELL, M.P., at Newry, 8th March, 1891 :—

"Now, I have spoken of the coercion of both political parties, but who was it who taught Lord Salisbury's Government how to coerce? (Cries of 'Gladstone.') What party was it who put a thousand of us into jail without trial in 1882? (Groans for Gladstone.) What party was it who passed the Crimes Act of 1882?"

"A voice: The Grand old Humbug. (Groans)."

"Mr. Parnell: What party was it who instituted the power to levy blood money and to tax small portions of Ireland for extra police? What party was it who wrote all these things in large letters upon the Statute Book? Why, it was the Liberal Party. It was the very men who now tell you that it is your duty to hand me over—(Never)—and to pitch me into the common ditch of the camp."

Freeman's Journal, 9th March, 1891.

MR. PARNELL, M.P., at Cork, 17th March, 1891 :—

"Although I praised him (Mr. Gladstone), I never entirely trusted him. I hoped undoubtedly that he would have been able, by degrees, to have given us a solution of the national question which we could have accepted, under which our people would have had full powers over their own destinies, and which would have enabled us to be a prosperous and free and happy Irish nation. That was the point to which I was encouraging him."

Freeman's Journal, 18th March, 1891.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., at Liverpool, 5th April, 1892 :—

“ Any English Liberal who is not ready to say Amen to the demand of Mr. Redmond and his colleagues does not know the realities and the consequences of his own policy.”

Freeman's Journal, 6th April, 1892.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Manchester, 20th March, 1904 :—

“ Before any Liberal Government could hold office by virtue of Irish votes, Home Rule must be its Irish policy.”

Times, 21st March, 1904.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Manchester, 20th March, 1904 :—

“ What I do say is that the policy of conceding to Ireland the right of governing and legislating for themselves in purely Irish affairs must be the policy—the Irish policy—of any possible Liberal Government holding its office by virtue of the Irish support.”

Freeman's Journal, 21st March, 1904.

MR. JEREMIAH MACVEAGH, M.P., at Clanvaraghan, 17th January, 1909 :—

“ The Liberals were pledged to make Home Rule the foremost plank in their programme at the next General Election, and they might take it that the Irish Party would pin them to that pledge ; and if they made any attempt to play fast and loose in that respect the arm of the Irish Party would be long enough and strong enough to wreak vengeance on the Liberal Party for that act of tergiversation. If the Liberal Party were guilty of that baseness it would be the greatest act of political treachery in the history of English politics.”

Irish News, 18th January, 1909.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 14th March, 1909 :—

“ The Irish Parliamentary Party expected the Liberal Party to take up Home Rule at the first possible moment. They would not permit any Liberal to be returned by their votes who said at the next election, as many Liberals said at the last election, that the next House of Commons could not deal with Home Rule. They would insist that Liberal Cabinets and Ministers should keep their hands free and untied. Members should be pledged to Home Rule, not merely in theory, but as a policy.”

Times, 15th March, 1909.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., at Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1909 :—

“ Our language to either party, Tory or Liberalist, will be, ‘ Give Ireland liberty or get out, and if you don't get out, we'll kick you out.’ ”

Irish World, 4th December, 1909.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at New York, 2nd October, 1910 :—

“ We do not care a snap of the fingers for either political party, for England, or for any political leader. If they refuse to do our will, we can turn the Liberals out.”

Irish Independent, 5th October, 1910.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Bermondsey, 23rd November, 1910 :—

“The Liberal Party are bound to us so that they must either sink or swim with Ireland, and they cannot—even if they would, and I don’t believe they have the wish to—turn their back upon the cause of Ireland.”

Freeman’s Journal, 24th November, 1910.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Wexford, 27th November, 1910 :—

“I don’t ask you to put your trust in the Tory Party or the Liberal Party. I don’t ask Ireland at this moment to put its trust in Asquith. I ask the Irish nation at this moment to put its trust in me. I ask you to ponder well on my words. I say to you—asking that trust on my responsibility, with a full sense of the gravity of that responsibility, and with full knowledge—I say to you, all goes well with Home Rule.”

Freeman’s Journal, 28th November, 1910.

ENGLAND'S NECESSITY—IRELAND'S OPPORTUNITY.

No Briton worthy of the name will ever forget the part played by the Irish Nationalists and the "Irish Brigade" during the Transvaal War. Not even the heroism of loyal Irish regiments can entirely efface the hideous memories that we retain of rebel speeches and resolutions published during those years of trouble and anxiety. Have we any guarantee worth accepting that, when next the British Empire is involved in war, the same men will not pursue the same infamous course of conduct? Absolutely none. The extracts subjoined may be useful—"lest we forget."—EDITOR.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Dundalk, 12th April, 1885 :—

"The old saying was as true as in the days when Wolfe Tone died, that England's difficulty, under the providence of God, was Ireland's opportunity."

United Ireland, 13th April. 1885.

Mr. D. SHEEHY, M.P., at Carrick-on-Suir, 2nd February, 1896 :—

"At present England was in a difficulty, and he was glad of it. (Cheers.) The country that denied Ireland its liberty could not claim the sympathy of any honest Irishman. (Cheers.) His sympathies were rather with the stout riflemen of the Boer-land (loud cheers), and if their friends across the Atlantic were to cross swords with England, Irishmen at home and abroad would support them."

Freeman's Journal, 3rd February, 1896.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, February 3rd, 1896 :—

"We go to Parliament filled with this one desire, to seize and use every one opportunity that presents itself, either in the domestic policy of England or in her foreign complications, to push forward the interests of our own country. We do not go to Westminster with the idea that we are going as members of the Imperial Parliament. We do not recognise their Imperial Parliament. (Cheers.) We go as ambassadors from our own nation into the hostile assembly of an alien nation. (Cheers.) . . . We will pursue our own policy, careless who it pleases, careless who it hurts, with one sole object before our minds—to make this Irish question so urgent, so pressing, so inconvenient, so dangerous to England, that it will be impossible for her, for any lengthened time, to oppose a refusal of our demands."

Independent, 4th February, 1896.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 8th September, 1896 :—

"Home Rule was in the background, and there Home Rule would remain until the Irish people once more united on sound political lines and made the refusal of Home Rule an inconvenience and a menace to England."

Independent, 9th September, 1896.

MR. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Ennis, 9th April, 1900 :—

“The present moment was a moment of danger for England, and it was, therefore, a moment when Ireland should unite and organise and do all in her power to make the most of her opportunity . . . He condemned the war against the Dutch Republics as cruel, cowardly and unjust.”

Freeman's Journal, 10th April, 1900.

MR. W. REDMOND, at Dumbarton, 4th June, 1901 :—

“Regarding the question of Home Rule, Mr. Redmond said that if the Irish people were much longer refused the restitution of the Parliament robbed from them by constitutional means, he could say that he knew how matters would become in Ireland. A generation of young men in Ireland was rising who would watch the opportunity to strike for Ireland. The lesson of the Transvaal war had struck terror into the English people, and it had set the young men of Ireland thinking that something might be done for Ireland in the same way, when they saw what could be accomplished by 30,000 farmers.”

Daily Independent, 5th June, 1901.

MR. D. SHEEHY, M.P., at Newry, 23rd June, 1901 :—

“He had seen one of the miracles of creation in Newry that day—a khaki with something on his breast. Whether it was a badge of surrender, nonsense, or cowardice he could not say, but all such individuals, if Irishmen, were despised in the land that bore them. Down and Armagh, excepting the scum, never lent their hands and arms to the British Government. Irishmen loved to hear of English disasters in South Africa. No matter what nation was fighting against England, Ireland would be on the side of that nation, because they hated England. . . . But England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity. The fall of England was the rise of the green flag of Ireland. (Cheers.) The squelching of that power would mean throwing off the shackles from the Irish race, and in that time wouldn't it be good for them to go into the battle with something in their hands to do something for Ireland? Their National organisation was to achieve for Ireland what the Boers in their fight aimed to achieve for the Transvaal and the Orange Republic—the independence of the people.”

Northern Whig, 25th June, 1901.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 1st October, 1901 :—

“What we ought to do in order to hasten that day in Parliament and out of Parliament is to attack the English Government of Ireland in all its departments (applause)—to expose to the world all its iniquities, and by every means which are open to honourable and Christian men to make English Government methods in this country as difficult and as dangerous as possible.”

Freeman's Journal, 2nd October, 1901.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Maryborough, 20th October, 1901 :—

“My one principle in public life is—in every Department of the Government, from the highest to the lowest; from the Chief Secretary in his back room in Dublin Castle to the landgrabber and the bailiff in the country town—to make every Department of Government in this country difficult and dangerous.”

Freeman's Journal, 21st October, 1901.

MR. J. P. FARRELL, M.P., at Dash Bridge, 26th June, 1910 :—

“I have often and often thought that if we had spent half the time and half the energy that we spent in these 27 years going to meetings, tramping roads, subscribing money, and going to all the trouble attendant on all this agitation,

if we had spent half that energy in one good stand-up fight against England we would be a hundred times better off. The Boers fought them with 50,000 against 250,000 until they put them to the pin of their collar, and yet when the English had put them down, or thought they had, for they never put them down really, they had to hand them back a more complete form of self-government than they had under the Transvaal Republic, and to-day who is their President? General Botha, that whacked them a few years ago.

Longford Leader, 2nd July, 1910.

MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 13th November, 1910 :—

“ I go to the British Parliament for one purpose alone, and that is to endeavour, out of the necessities of English parties, to win freedom for Ireland.”

Freeman's Journal, 14th November, 1910.

SEPARATION—"THE GREAT GOAL OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE."

(Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., 27th Sept., 1910.)

On 11th April of this year, 1912, Mr. Redmond made the following astounding assertion in the House of Commons: "It is one of the commonplaces of the platform of this country that I am a Separatist in disguise and that my friends are all Separatists in disguise. Of course, when an assertion of that kind is made, as far as I am concerned I can only deny it. . . . We deny that we are Separatists."

Let any fair-minded reader peruse the extracts which follow, and he will be convinced that Separation **is** the goal for which every Nationalist agitator has been striving for thirty years—but not "in disguise."—EDITOR.

I.

1880-1888.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., in an interview reported in the *New York Herald* on 2nd January, 1880:—

"As far as I have been able to gather, the Fenian organisation and its leaders are opposed, though not hostile, to our movement, the reason being that it is constitutional. A true revolutionary movement in Ireland should, in my opinion, partake both of a constitutional and an illegal character. It should be both an open and a secret organisation, using the Constitution for its own purposes but also taking advantage of its secret combination. But the leaders of the Fenian movement do not believe in constitutional action, because it has always been used in the past for the selfish purposes of its leaders. There was a strong objection by the Fenians to our Parliamentary action for the same reasons, and, indeed, if we look at the action of the Irish Parliamentary leaders since the union, there is ample justification for the views of the physical force party."

Parnell Commission Report, p. 18.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., at Cincinnati, 20th February, 1880:—

"When we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation. The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority have been the corner-stone of English misrule; pull out that corner-stone, break it up, destroy it, and you undermine English misgovernment; when we have undermined English misgovernment we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place amongst the nations of the earth, and let us not forget that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim.

"None of us, whether we are in America or Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

Commenting on this extract the Report continues :—

“ Mr. Parnell will not undertake to say that he did not use the expression that he would not be satisfied till the last link between Ireland and England was destroyed, but says that it is improbable that he did so, and that if he did it must have been largely qualified with other matter, as it is entirely opposed to anything he has ever thought or said.

“ The evidence leads us to the conclusion that Mr. Parnell did use the words attributed to him, and they certainly are not inconsistent with some of his previous utterances.”

Parnell Commission Report, p. 21.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., at Galway, 24th October, 1880 :—

“ I wish to see the tenant-farmers prosperous ; but, large and important as is the class of tenant-farmers, constituting as they do, with their wives and families, the majority of the people of this country, I would not have taken off my coat and gone to this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence.”

Freeman's Journal, 25th October, 1880.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Boston, Mass., 7th August, 1884 :—

“ We will work as long as we have life for the consummation of that object for which our fathers worked far more bitterly than we may be called upon to work, until we have made Ireland a nation, and given her a harp without a crown.”

Parnell Commission Report, p. 114.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., at Cork, January, 1885 :—*

“ We cannot, under the British Constitution, ask for more than the restitution of Grattan's Parliament. (Renewed cheering.) But no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation. (Great cheers.) No man has a right to say to his country : ‘ Thus far shalt thou go and no further,’ and we have never attempted to fix ‘ ne plus ultra ’ to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall.”

Parnell Commission Report, p. 21.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., in London, 17th March, 1885 :—

“ . . . We should not impede or hamper the march of our nation. Though our programme may now appear limited and small, it should be such a one as shall not prevent hereafter the fullest realisation of the hopes of Ireland.”

United Ireland, 21st March, 1885.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., at Castlebar, 3rd November, 1885 :—

“ Speaking for myself, and I believe for the Irish people, and for all my colleagues, I have to declare that we will never accept, either expressly or implied, anything but the full, complete right to arrange our own affairs, and to make our land a nation ; to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own cause among the peoples of the world.”

United Ireland, 7th November, 1885.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND, M.P., at Chicago, August, 1886 :—

“ The principle embodied in the Irish movement of to-day is just the same principle which was the soul of every Irish movement for the last seven

* It is this quotation that has been chosen for the inscription on the Parnell Monument in Dublin.

centuries—the principle of rebellion against the rule of strangers—the principle which Owen Roe and O'Neill vindicated at Benburb, which animated Tone and Fitzgerald, and to which Emmet sacrificed a stainless life."

Home Rule : Speeches of John Redmond. Edited by R. Barry O'Brien. 1910, p. 19.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Limerick, 1st November, 1887 :—

"We are fighting for the freedom of Ireland, to secure the possession of this country in the hands of the Irish Nationalists, and for that reason I know it is the Nationalists of the towns of Ireland will support us in this great struggle in the belief which is our firm faith, that when this struggle against landlordism in Ireland is carried to a successful termination—that the same hour in which the power of landlordism is crushed the power of the Castle will disappear also, and this old nation of ours will become a free and independent Ireland."

Cork Daily Herald, 2nd November, 1887.

The Irish World, 12th November, 1887 :—

"This talk about finalities is the more foolish as the past history of the Irish question shows it to be futile. There is no finality except justice, and Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule plan is but a small instalment of justice to Ireland. It is a proposal to give them (the Irish) a Parliament which shall have not a tithe of the power of that which they were robbed of, and to keep this Parliament permanently under the step-motherly oversight of England."

Mr. DILLON, M.P., at Waterford, 8th December, 1888 :—

"I have never hesitated to express my admiration for the men of '67 (the Fenians), and I declare that our movement is, in all its main principles and the great issues at which it aims, the legitimate successor of that movement."

Cork Herald, 9th December, 1888.

II.

1890—1898.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., in New York, 11th November, 1890 :—

"The cause as claimed for the Irish people is the right to make their own laws and name their own representatives. It is the same fight in which your forefathers bled and fell. The acquisition of these rights which you obtained has made this country what it is. Prior to the Revolution your great Republic was a miserable, downtrodden province of a Government which now oppresses us. This is the cause which we have made bold to appeal to the sympathy of the American people."

New York World, 12th November, 1890.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., at Navan, 1st March, 1891 :—

“ Men of royal Meath, perhaps some day or other in the long distant future someone may arise who may have the privilege of addressing you as men of republican Meath.”

Freeman's Journal, 2nd March, 1891.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., at Ballina, 20th April, 1891 :—

“ It was for these things that I took off my coat in 1880, and it is for these things that I have got my coat off still, and that I intend to keep it off until we have banished traitors and seceders from the Irish ranks, until we have secured once more a united army and a united country, pressing on for the recovery of Irish freedom and Irish legislative independence.”

Freeman's Journal, 21st April, 1891.

Mr. PARNELL, at Balbriggan, 21st June, 1891 :—

“ They could not prevent the Irish people from obtaining self-government. It was merely a question of time and degree. His opinion was, and it had been his opinion for the last ten years, that it would come soon, but that it would not be a complete measure of freedom. That would come by degrees.”
—*Freeman's Journal*, 22nd June, 1891.

Mr. PARNELL, at Listowel, 13th September, 1891 :—

“ We assert to-day what we asserted in 1885 and the years before it, that no man has a right to fix the boundary of a nation.”

Freeman's Journal, 14th September, 1891.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at the Parnellite Convention, Dublin, 7th October, 1895 :—

“ The Nationalists of Ireland will never lay down their arms until they have achieved the independence of their country. (Cheers.) . . . If Ireland were once more united upon proper lines Home Rule would be pushed once more to the front in one week. (Cheers.) But, fellow-countrymen, let us be candid with one another; there is only one way in which that can be done. The cant about the union of hearts must be given up; the absolute nonsense about the love of the English democracy for Ireland must be done away with; Ireland must go back to the doctrines, the ideas, and the policy of Parnell. (Cheers.) If we want Home Rule we must make it inconvenient to England to refuse it.”

Independent, 8th October, 1895.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Navan, 8th December, 1895 :—

“ Our principles are easily defined; they are the independence of Ireland and the civil and religious liberty of all her sons. (Loud cheers.) We are willing to take from the alien Government that rules us, and from any English Government, Whig or Tory, that comes into existence—we are willing to take anything that will promote the prosperity of our country, or tend to alleviate the heavy lot of the poor down-trodden and miserable in our land. But while we are willing to do that, we tell England plainly that we believe this land of Ireland is ours. (Cheers.) We believe that England has no moral right to oppress Ireland or to rule Ireland at all. (Cheers.) ‘Ireland for the Irish’ is our motto, and the consummation of all our hopes and aspirations is in one word, to drive English rule, sooner or later, bag and baggage, from our country.”

Independent, 9th December, 1895.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Newry, 16th June, 1897 :—

“ I remember when Parnell was asked whether he would, on behalf of the United Nationalist nation that he represented, accept as a final settlement the Home Rule compromise proposed by Gladstone. I remember his answer. He said : ‘ I believe in the policy of taking from England anything we can wring from her which will strengthen our arms to go on for more. I will accept the Home Rule compromise of Gladstone as an instalment of our rights, but I refuse to say that it is a final settlement of the national question, and I declare that no man shall set a boundary on the onward march of the nation.’ That is our motto.”

Irish Daily Independent, 17th June, 1897.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., in House of Commons :—

“ Mr. J. DILLON : . . . Mr. Parnell went on to declare that he fully recognised the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and, therefore, there can be no doubt of the position of Mr. Parnell on this question. He accepted on that occasion, as he did throughout the long campaign which ensued upon the defeat of the Home Rule Bill, a statutory legislature in Ireland. I remember, in the course of these debates, it was pointed out that for Parliament to strip itself of its supremacy was the basis of the Home Rule movement as conducted under Mr. Parnell’s leadership and the basis of the whole of the Home Rule movement as it won the support of the Liberal Party. The Hon. Member (Redmond) speaks of a compact, and he went as far back as the days of Lord Fitzwilliam and the Bills of 1886 and 1893, and he said that at those great junctures it was within the grasp of the people to make a compromise, but that they only threw away the opportunity, and that now it becomes the duty of all Irish Nationalists, compromise being rejected, to put forward the full measure of the Nationalist demand. That brings me to the second point. What is the full measure of that demand ? The Hon. Member, as I understood him, defined it to be the repeal of the Act of Union, and in a previous speech in Ireland, he led the Nationalists to take the same view, and having recognised that the policy of Home Rule, as carried on by Mr. Parnell, had failed, he now falls back upon the repeal of the Union and the Parliament of 1782.

“ Mr. REDMOND : No.

“ Mr. DILLON : You spoke of the repeal of the Union, and the re-opening of the Irish Parliament, as the full Nationalist demand. Now, I say, in the first instance, that, in my opinion and in the opinion of the vast majority of the advanced Nationalists of Ireland, that is not the full Nationalist demand.

“ Mr. REDMOND : Separation.

“ Mr. DILLON : Yes. That is the full Nationalist demand ; that is the right on which we stand, the Nationalist right of Ireland.”

Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 53, Cols. 390-391, 11th February, 1898.

III.

1901-1905.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 1st October, 1901 :—

“ They accepted Mr. Gladstone’s Bill in 1886 and in 1893. They accepted them avowedly as a compromise, but they accepted them honestly. They were willing to accept them honestly, and as far as it rested with them to make

them a settlement of the Irish national legislative question. But they always regarded these proposals as what he might call the low water mark of their demand

"What they ought to do in order to hasten that day was, in Parliament and out of Parliament, to attack the English Government of Ireland in all its departments, to expose to the world all its iniquities, and by every means which were open to honourable and Christian men to make English Government methods in this country as difficult and as dangerous as possible."

Irish Times, 2nd October, 1901.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Cork, 22nd October, 1901, referring to his mission to America :—

"It means that the reunion which has taken place in Ireland has taken place also in America ; it means that those English statesmen—shallow, short-sighted men—who imagined that because we were torn with dissension here for the last ten years that the cause of Ireland was dead and buried ; it means that these men will understand when they see this mission to America that they have to fight against a united Irish race who are simply united by one consideration to use whatever means are honourable and just in the sight of God, and who care nothing for English law, and who are prepared to say before the world that, rather than be held by force, as we are to-day, under the British Empire, we would prefer to be linked with the meanest free country on the face of the earth."

Freeman's Journal, 23rd October, 1901.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Cork, 23rd October, 1901 :—

"I have no hesitation in saying that the United Irish League stands to-day precisely on the same foundation as stood the Land League when Parnell declared he would never take off his coat in the movement if there was not behind the agrarian movement the National question. This United Irish League is not merely an agrarian movement. It is first, last, and all the time a National movement : and those of us who are endeavouring to rouse the farmers of Ireland, as we endeavoured 20 years ago in the days of the Land League to rouse them, are doing so not merely to obtain the removal of their particular grievances, but because we believe by rousing them we will be strengthening the National movement and helping us to obtain our end, which is after all the **National Independence of Ireland**. . . . And I desire to say to the tradesmen of Ireland that I hope they will not be led away by those enemies of the Irish movement, who are endeavouring to induce them to think that this is a purely agrarian movement. It is nothing of the kind. It is a National movement, having for its first and last objects the emancipation of Ireland as a nation."

Freeman's Journal, 24th October, 1901.

The Boston Globe of November 1st, 1901, contained the following interview with Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., on his landing in New York :—

"Mr. Redmond smiled when informed that he was being criticised to some extent because it was alleged that in a speech to the Cambridge University Union, in England, in 1895, he was quoted as having said that 'the separation of Ireland from England was neither desirable nor possible.'"

"Yes, I have heard such intimations before, said Mr. Redmond. The statement thus attributed to me is quite untrue. I never used any such phrase, and the sentiment which it embodies is ludicrously foreign to all my public speeches and utterances, both in and out of Parliament, for the past 20 years.

"Parnell defined the attitude of the Irish people on that matter, in words

which are endorsed by the whole Irish race, when he said, 'While engaged in a constitutional movement acting within the lines of the constitution the most we can ask for is the restoration of Grattan's Parliament, but no man has the right to set the limits to the onward march of a nation.' That has been and is to-day the attitude of the Irish people.

"Who would undertake to say that the separation of Ireland from England is impossible? Things which appeared much more impossible have often taken place, and it did not seem more impossible a few years ago that England could be humbled in the dust as she now is by a handful of farmers in South Africa."

Independent, 11th November, 1901.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Worcester, U.S.A., 1901 :—

"What are our motives and objects? First of all, our ultimate goal is the national independence of our country. I say, in its essence, the National movement is the same to-day as it was in the days of Hugh O'Neill, of Owen Roe of Emmet, or of Wolfe Tone, to overturn the foreign domination in our land and to put Irishmen in charge of their own affairs. The object has always been the same, and if we are working by methods that seem slow and ineffective to a free and an armed people, our critics should remember that people must labour with what they have at hand. Whether the freedom of Ireland is attained by moral suasion or physical force, what difference so long as it is achieved?"

Worcester Spy, 14th November, 1901.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P., at New York, 1902 :—

"Gentlemen, I know there are many men in America who think that the means which we are operating to-day for the good of Ireland are not sufficiently sharp and decisive. . . . I would suggest to those who have constituted themselves the censors of our movement, would it not be well to give our movement a fair chance—to allow us to have as owners the tillers of the land, to have an Irish Parliament that will give our people all authority over the police and the judiciary and all government in the nation, and when equipped with comparative freedom, then would be the time for those who think **we should destroy the last link that binds us to England to operate by whatever means they think best to achieve that great and desirable end. I am quite sure I speak for the United Irish League on this matter.**"

Irish People, 21st June, 1902.

MR. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Ennis, 4th August, 1902 :—

"To achieve that end it required the labourers, the farmers and the shopkeepers all to combine together in the United Irish League. But if the land question was settled a thousand times Ireland would never be contented, prosperous or happy until Dublin Castle was pulled down and a free Irish Parliament ruled Ireland."

Freeman's Journal, 5th August, 1902.

MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Moville, 4th December, 1904 :—

"I say deliberately that I should never have dedicated my life as I have done to this great struggle if I did not see at the end of this great struggle the crowning and the consummation of our work, a free and independent nation."

Freeman's Journal, 5th December, 1904.

MR. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Thurles, 29th January, 1905 :—

"He regarded that splendid gathering as a sign of a national revival here in Tipperary as in other parts of the country, which would sweep before it all

vestiges of English rule in this country. For they never would have in Ireland a really prosperous and happy land until the rule of England was swept clean out of Ireland."

Freeman's Journal, 30th January, 1905.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE, M.P., at Enniscorthy, 28th May, 1905 :—

"For who can claim a better title to honour the memory of the great Rebellion than we can? We are the descendants of the Rebels of '98. We are, many of us, still suffering for the sacrifices our forefathers made 107 years ago. We honour them all the more on that account. We hold their memory in all the greater reverence. Their principles are our principles; their beliefs are our beliefs; their ideals are our ideals; and led by the inspiration which animated them, we declare that we will never submit to foreign rule in Ireland, and that we will never cease from struggling by whatever means seems best to us, until Ireland is free from the centre to the sea. This solemn pledge we renew to-day."

Freeman's Journal, 29th May, 1905.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P., at Hannahstown, 10th September, 1905 :—

"They were now commencing the work of upholding the principles of the men of '98. He might be told that the movement was not a worthy successor of the movement of '98, and that the methods pursued by Tone and his confreres in the glorious galaxy of Irish patriotism were not the methods of to-day. He was perfectly prepared to admit that it was quite true that these men resorted to arms in order to win liberty for Ireland. It was perfectly true that they placed little reliance on constitutional agitation; but each generation demanded the application of methods suited to the times, and whilst aiming at the same objects as Emmet, Tone, &c., they nevertheless, as practical politicians, felt if it was impossible to win Ireland's freedom by the force of arms, it was not impossible to do so by that spirit of combination in Parliament and in the country which had made Ireland for 24 years the wonder of the world."

Freeman's Journal, 11th September, 1905.

IV.

1906—1910.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Athlone, 7th October, 1906 :—

"He felt it his duty to remind the Government that they in Ireland were unchanged and unchangeable. That nothing except a free Parliament with an Executive responsible to it could ever settle the Irish question, or could ever be accepted by Irish Nationalists as an instalment of their claim."

Freeman's Journal, 8th October, 1906.

Mr. T. M. KETTLE, M.P., at New York, November, 1906 :—

"The message we bear is from that illustrious leader of our Party, John Redmond. If there is any man in this audience who says to us as representing that Parliamentary movement—'I don't believe in your Parliamentary ideas,

I don't accept Home Rule, I go beyond it ; I believe in an Independent Irish Nation'—if any man says this I say that we don't disbelieve in it. These are our tactics—if you are to take a fortress, first take the outer works."

Irish World, 24th November, 1906.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Drumkeerin, 27th October, 1907 :—

"Apart altogether from the national spirit which, in the breasts of free men, must ever rebel against government by a foreign country, and which never can permit us in Ireland to acquiesce in British Rule, even if that rule were successful or efficient, or of material advantage to us—apart altogether from, I say, that National spirit, we have the most pressing and vital of all material reasons for objecting to the present system of government in this country, and demanding the right to government ourselves."

Sligo Champion, 2nd November, 1907.

The Irish World, 11th April, 1908 :—

"Home Rule is not a finality. It is worth having, partly for what it is worth, but even more as furnishing the means for an agitation which will end in the repeal of the Union. . . . Ireland can recognise no finality short of absolute justice, which means the restoration of what British Invasion and the bribed Union took from her."

MR. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Wexford, 10th June, 1908 :—

"If the Irish people had the opportunity and chance, and were justified by a reasonable hope of success in making a struggle for the right to rule themselves and control the finances of the country, such as the Dutch in South Africa made, the people would be cowards and unworthy if they did not make the attempt."

"As far as he was concerned he would not go to the House of Commons for five minutes to agitate for Home Rule if he thought that the people, by putting up a struggle in Ireland could win for themselves the same national rights and recognition which, undoubtedly, the fight which the Boers made won for them very speedily after the war was over."

Freeman's Journal, 11th June, 1908.

MR. GINNELL, M.P., at Finea, 2nd August, 1908 :—

"I maintain that the principles of every true Nationalist to-day, however they may differ as to methods, the principles and the final goal at which they aim are those of Myles O'Reilly and Owen Roe. It has never been rightly governed and no country ever can be rightly governed by any but its own sons. It has been governed, and is being governed, under whatever name the ruling party may bear, in the interest of another country, and not in the interest of this. We should be unworthy of meeting and commemorating Myles O'Reilly or Owen Roe unless we are determined to aim at the same goal and unless we maintain the same irreconcilable distrust of the foreigner. Our methods may be different : we may suit our methods to changed circumstances, but the goal we are ultimately aiming at and the direction in which we will continue are the same as those of Myles O'Reilly and Owen Roe."

Roscommon Herald, 8th August, 1908.

MR. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P., Philadelphia, November, 1908 :—

"I believe in the separation of Ireland from England until Ireland is as free as the air we breathe."

Irish World, 28th November, 1908.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P., at Queenstown, 5th September, 1909 :—

“ Captain Condon had not changed in his hopes, in his passions, or in his aspirations for Ireland no more than they had changed. (Applause.) They all believed that Ireland’s destiny was to be a free land under a free sky, but they were all agreed—the revolutionist of the past and the constitutionalist of to-day—that it was the function of practical and sane Irish patriots to utilise whatever instrument God and progress had given them to forge their way to Irish freedom. (Applause).”

Freeman’s Journal, 6th September, 1909.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P., as President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, welcoming the ex-Fenian leader, Captain Condon, at Dublin, 6th September, 1909, said :—

“ What was it, after all, that Wolfe Tone and Fitzgerald, and Mitchell and Smith-O’Brien, and O’Meagher Condon, Allen, Larkin and O’Brien, and all the other gallant men strove for, who, from generation to generation, were inspired with the spirit of revolution ? It was to make the people free in the government of their own country, and to make them the permanent owners of the holy soil of Ireland. (Applause.) In what respect, he asked, did their policy differ from the purpose of these men ? ”

Freeman’s Journal, 7th September, 1909.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M.P., at Armagh, the “ Manchester Martyrs’ ” anniversary, 25th November, 1909 :—

“ Who could estimate the depth and power of the inspiration which successive generations of Irishmen and women had drawn from the memory of such sacrifices as those of Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet, and Allen, Larkin and O’Brien ? Sacrifice was the test of faith. The cause that was dearer than life itself to the sons of the people could only perish with their existence. So long as one of them survived it would rise up to confront the oppressor and to demand vengeance or just retribution.”

Freeman’s Journal, 26th November, 1909.

Mr. T. P. O’CONNOR, M.P., at Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1909 :—

“ Give to us as you gave to Parnell, and I’ll promise you that within a few years . . . Ireland’s liberty will be won so that her emblem will take its place along with the other flags of the world’s nations.”

Irish World, 4th December, 1909.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Dublin, 9th December, 1909 :—

“ His (McBride’s) advice was that we should urge upon the German people to hurry up their invasion of England and to call on Ireland on their way to England and drop a hundred thousand rifles and adequate ammunition for our youths. Well, the only criticism I have to make upon that policy is this : that if I believed that that was a practicable policy and the policy for Ireland, I would not make it the matter for a public oration.”

Freeman’s Journal, 10th December, 1909.

MR. STEPHEN GWYNN, M.P., at Collon, 12th December, 1909 :—

“The case for Home Rule really rested on this, that Irishmen would never be content until they had the freedom to govern themselves which was given to all the nations of the world.”

Freeman's Journal, 13th December, 1909.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 15th December, 1909 :—

“We have before us to-day the best chance which Ireland has ever had for the last century, of tearing up and trampling under foot that infamous Act of Union.”

Freeman's Journal, 16th December, 1909.

The National Hibernian, 15th April, 1910 :—

“It is not too much to say that the members of our Order have been mainly instrumental in bringing this condition about. Their efforts in the past have been untiring towards this end, and they may be trusted to continue the good work in the future until our celebrations become a power that will for ever silence our enemies and hasten the complete independence of our people.”

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Buffalo, 27th September, 1910 :—

“I have come here to-day to America to ask you to give us your aid in a supreme and, I believe, a final effort to dethrone once and for all the English government of our country.”

Freeman's Journal, 13th October, 1910.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Buffalo, 27th September, 1910 :—

“I would go back, if necessary, to the state of servitude and oppression which existed 100 years ago in Ireland, if in exchange I could get once again established on Irish soil the principle of National self-government. Without freedom, all these great concessions are practically valueless, or at any rate, such value as they possess is to be found in the fact that they strengthen the arm of the Irish people, and push on to the great goal of National Independence.”

Freeman's Journal, 13th October, 1910.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Aughrim, 25th September, 1911 :—

“The ideals of the Gaelic League are our ideals, and we will struggle for them in the future.* However, soon indeed you will find that these ideals will be realised when Ireland will not only be self-governing—and will not be self-governing as a province of a foreign nation, but in the sense of a fully self-governed and self-reliant nation, dependent on the genius and talent of our own people, a country able to work out her own destiny.”

Freeman's Journal, 26th September, 1911.

MR. J. DEVLIN, M.P., in London, 25th November, 1911 :—

“We are not here to apologise for the Fenian movement, but to glory in it.”

Freeman's Journal, 27th November, 1911.

* MR. SHANE LESLIE, a prominent member of the Gaelic League, speaking in New York, on 10th November, 1911, is reported to have said :—“We, deliberately and knowingly, have set ourselves—if I may use a great phrase—to break the last link that lies between Ireland and England.”—*Gaelic American*, 18th November, 1911.

PATRICK FORD, THE DYNAMITER.

In every political movement there are "extremists." They are of three kinds : those who have the will, those who have the money, and those who have the pluck to go all lengths to secure their object. We are convinced that both Mr. Dillon and Mr. Redmond belong to the first class ; their life-long ally, Patrick Ford, has the cash and, we may add, the brains to qualify for the second class. The third class was never a large one, for the majority of Irishmen dislike dirty work. In the days when it was considered expedient to threaten England with "physical force" in order to extract Home Rule for Ireland, these three classes all combined, as will be seen from the following extracts. Who shall say that this hateful alliance is at an end, or that it could not be renewed at a moment's notice if it suited the exigencies of the Irish-American Party ?—EDITOR.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at the Chicago Convention, 1886 :—

"The duty of the moment is clear . . . It now remains for us to prove for the thousandth time that as slaves we can be formidable foes. I assert here to-day that the Government of Ireland by England is an impossibility, and I believe it to be our duty to make it so."

Irish World, 28th August, 1886.

Mr. M. DAVITT, M.P., at Swords, Co. Dublin, 5th June, 1887 :—

"If you could see that as I saw it, oh ! you would not measure your words, but you would wish from the bottom of your heart we had there in our hands the weapons which England placed in the hands of her armed mercenaries, and we would have taught these ruffians that the people of Ireland, in the year of 1887, had not lost the courage or the spirit of their ancestors."

Freeman's Journal, 6th June, 1887.

Mr. J. DILLON, M.P., at Dublin, 1st October, 1901 :—

"I have never been too enthusiastic a believer in the efficacy of Parliamentary action, and I have been twenty years in the House of Commons. I have never believed, and never told the people of this country, that by Parliamentary action alone it would be possible to vindicate the rights and win the liberties of Ireland."

Freeman's Journal, 2nd October, 1901.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 8th October, 1906 :—

"I have always held the view that it was a strength to the National movement, and not a weakness, that England should realise that there was behind the men who were conducting the constitutional movement on the floor of the House of Commons a great unknown power waiting for an opportunity which might arise to have recourse, if necessary, to other methods to advance the cause of Ireland."

Freeman's Journal, 9th October, 1906.

N.B.—Mr. PATRICK FORD suspended his advocacy of the Skirmishing Fund policy from October, 1881, till December, 1883, but in December, 1883, he opened an Emergency Fund, the object of which he thus described in his paper :—

“The object of this fund will be to aid the active forces on the other side in carrying on the war against the enemy. It is unnecessary to enter into details. I can only say in a general way what I believe in myself. I believe in making reprisals. ‘An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.’ I believe that every informer ought to die the death of a dog. I believe that all the material damage possible ought to be inflicted on the enemy, and that the war against the foemen ought to be persisted in, without quarter, to the end. I believe that England ought to be plagued with all the plagues of Egypt—that she ought to be scourged by day and terrorised by night. I believe that this species of warfare ought to be kept up until England, hurt as well as scared, falls paralysed upon her knees and begs Ireland to depart from her. This is my idea of making war on England.”

Parnell Commission Report, pp. 64 and 65.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Hoffman House, New York, 7th October, 1908 :—

“I now give an invitation to visit Ireland. I see in front of me Patrick Ford, a man who, for half a century, by his manhood and his great newspaper, the ‘Irish World,’ has given Ireland unstinted support, and sitting back of me here is O’Meagher Condon, who in the day of stress and trial fearlessly gave Ireland her national anthem, ‘God Save Ireland.’ I invite them and others like them (if their like can be found) to visit us and see for themselves what we have been doing, and receive their thanks from the warm hearts of our people.”

Irish World, 17th October, 1908.

N.B.—Mr. PATRICK FORD, in a leading article on the Phoenix Park murders in the *Irish World* :—

“The men who struck down Burke and Cavendish were not ruffians. They were the soldiers of Ireland, fighting Ireland’s battle. The man who sets foot on Irish soil to administer or enforce any other law than the law and will of the Irish nation must do so prepared to abide the consequences . . . Five men on our side are seized and put to death. The moment the disaster is known, thousands rush into the breach and pour out their money freely to sustain the families of the victims.”

Irish World, 27th October, 1893.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Enniscorthy, 8th September, 1909, welcoming the ex-Fenian, Captain Condon :—

“That gentleman came to Ireland on my invitation. I took the liberty, as Chairman of the Irish Party, of tendering to him, and to two other distinguished Irishmen in America, an invitation to this country. The two other gentlemen that I invited have, unfortunately, not been able to come. One of them is the grand old veteran Patrick Ford (cheers) who, through his newspaper, the ‘Irish World,’ has done more for the last thirty or forty years for Ireland than almost any man alive. (Hear, hear.)”

Freeman’s Journal, 9th September, 1909.

N.B.—Mr. PATRICK FORD, in a signed letter in the *Irish World*, 6th February, 1884, said :—

“A year last May two standard bearers of England’s domination in Ireland (Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke) were struck down in the Phoenix Park. Had

it been Forster or Clifford Lloyd no surprise would have been occasioned, nor would any sorrow have followed. I say it is not creditable to the Irish name that they were ever permitted to leave the Irish shores as live men . . . May God send Ireland more men with hearts like Joe Brady. Assassins? No, they were heroes who knew how to die for a cause as well as kill for a cause."

Irish World, 6th February, 1884.

Mr. P. M'KENNA, South Westmeath Executive, U.I.L.,
6th January, 1911 :—

"It was good policy under present conditions of their national army in England and their national army in Ireland trying to keep the present Government in power. But at the same time he might say that if Home Rule were not forthcoming within three years, the British Government might have to face the danger of a Republic being formed in the country."

Dublin Daily Express, 9th January, 1911.

RESOLUTION passed by the National Directory of the United Irish League, Dublin, 15th September, 1910, Mr. JOHN REDMOND, M.P., in the chair. Proposed by Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., and seconded by the Very Rev. JOHN M'CARTAN, P.P. :—

"That this Directory of the National Organisation of Ireland desires to place on record its profound and grateful appreciation of the immense services rendered to the cause of Ireland by Patrick Ford, of New York, and the great journal which he controls—the '*Irish World*'—and on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the appearance of the first copy of the '*Irish World*,' on behalf of the Irish people, we tender to Patrick Ford our heartfelt congratulations, and send him greeting and warmest wishes for his good health and prosperity. That the Secretary be authorised to cable this resolution to Patrick Ford."

Freeman's Journal, 16th September, 1910.

Mr. PATRICK FORD, commenting on an article by Dr. Emmet in the *Irish World* of 7th June, 1907, *praising the use of dynamite* in defence of Ireland :—

"I am in entire agreement with the views expressed and the conclusions reached by Dr. Emmet himself. I am also in sympathy with the United Irish League and the Irish Parliamentary party so admirably led by Mr. John Redmond."

In the *Chicago Citizen* of 7th January, 1911, Mr. JOHN P. SUTTON, the editor, reprints a letter sent by him to a correspondent in Essex on 2nd January, 1911, of which the following is an extract :—

"We Irish in America would be glad to hear that England had suffered defeat and disaster at the hands of Germany. Why should we, or how could we, feel otherwise? The Germans have never wronged us; we owe them nothing but good will. Here in America Irishmen and Germans fought side by side to preserve the Union, when England was providing the enemies of our flag with arms and ammunition, and building privateers to sweep our commerce off the sea."

Extract from a leading article in the *Chicago Citizen* of the same date :—

“The ‘Chicago Citizen’ represents a constituency than which there is none more loyal to John E. Redmond and to the policy of which he is the exponent. . . .

“We hate England for her treatment of Ireland and of ourselves as Irish exiles ; we hate her as Americans, for England has ever been and is now the treacherous enemy of the United States, although she is now crawling on her belly whining like Uriah Heep for our friendship, that she may use our army and navy to bolster up her tottering Empire. Before Irish-Americans can entertain any esteem for England, she must enter on the path of reform and give substantial proofs that her Government has ceased to be a nest of pirates fattening on the exploitation of the world and on the blood and tears of Ireland and India. Till then we shall continue to consider the very name of England as a synonym for greed, cruelty and injustice, and deserving the antagonism of all men who love justice and hate iniquity.”

Mr. DANIEL M'CARTHY, at a meeting at Wexford, 14th January, 1911, in connection with the Gaelic Athletic Association :—

“It is one of their chief rules that they will never ask you to go on a field for hurling, football, jumping, or throwing the weight with a wearer of the red coat or the black coat. . . . To play the game of hurling you must be a man. It is no modern game, and if it was good enough for the kings of Ireland, it is truly good enough for us. Wexford played Carlow, if I remember right from what I read, two years before the Rebellion. The Rebellion at the time killed hurling. The boys at the time when Ireland called on them cast aside the hurley and they took up the pike to strike a blow for Ireland. That is the object, we make it the object, of the Gaelic Athletic Association. We want our men to train and be physically strong, and when the time comes the hurlers will cast away the caman for the sharp, bright steel that will drive the Saxon from our land. When that time comes we expect the hurlers of Wexford will be in the vanguard, when steel is heard to clash on steel, or the ping of the bullet that finds a Saxon heart. . . . I believe God would pardon any Gael if he has the good, bright pike or musket in his hand and dies fighting against the enemies of our country, who murdered, butchered our people, and drove them to all parts of the world, and when the day of vengeance comes the men in the vanguard will be the hurlers, the true Gaels of Ireland.”

Wexford People, 21st January, 1911.

ENEMIES OF ENGLAND.

No prefatory note is required to introduce the following extracts to the attention of the public or to explain their trend. Disloyalty to the Throne and Empire is writ large upon the face of them all, and not a man nor a newspaper hereinafter quoted has recanted the written or the spoken word. Yet it is to agencies such as these that we are invited to confide the destinies of Ireland, the liberties of Loyalists, and the security of Great Britain from a flank attack in the day of battle !—EDITOR.

I.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., at Cork, 2nd October, 1881 :—

“ Take the incident in the Mansion House the other day. In that building the other day a few gentlemen connected with the Land League came and put this question before the citizens of Dublin. ‘ You want patronage for an exhibition of Irish industries. Who are to be your patrons ? The Queen of England. (Hisses and shouts of “ No.” A voice : “ No, nor the Prince of Wales.” Another voice : “ Parnell.” Loud Cheers). Or shall we have as the patrons of a National Irish Exhibition, the people, the nation of Ireland ? ’ (Cheers.) And in that home of flunkeyism, that refuge of snobbery, the people said ‘ Aye,’ and from that moment forward the word has gone forth decisively declaring that now and for evermore in Ireland the people of Ireland alone are to rule.”

Freeman's Journal, 3rd October, 1881.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Newcastle-on-Tyne, May, 1885 :—

“ Why have the Irish people voluntarily and heartily cheered the Mahdi ? Chiefly because the Mahdi is the enemy of England, and his men are killing Englishmen. This is a hard and bitter, but most true fact. (Hear, hear). The Irish cheer the Mahdi because he is the enemy of the English ! ”

United Ireland, 23rd May, 1885.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at the Parnellite Convention in Dublin, 7th October, 1895 :—

“ If I went into the British House of Commons, I went into it led there, guided there, and watched over there by a man that I knew loved Ireland and hated England. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) . . . I say what I mean ; I am not ashamed of my opinions, whoever may like or dislike them. . . . I say that if the freedom of Ireland be not granted to us, and if the demon of war be let loose in Europe, no matter who may say against it, in the streets of Dublin the news would be received to the tune of the ‘ Marseillaise ’ and not to the tune of ‘ God save the Queen. ’ ”

Independent, 8th October, 1895.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Ballaghaderreen, 29th January, 1896 :—

“ I say here to-day that so long as the National claims of Ireland are unsatisfied and so long as her children here at home in Ireland are oppressed and

tormented by landlordism and foreign rule, so long will the exiled children of Ireland in America be the implacable enemies of England (cheers), and whenever an opportunity offers they will show their power to inflict injury upon her."

Freeman's Journal, 30th January, 1896.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 8th October, 1899 :—

"I am rejoiced that this great meeting affords for all Ireland an opportunity of expressing the hope that the gallant little Republic of South Africa (cheers) may be able to maintain its liberties intact. If war ensues—and I pray God that it may not—it will be an unjust war, a war of aggression and aggrandisement, a war caused by a lust of Empire. (Cheers.) It will be a crime against humanity and human liberty, and we to-day, we from all parts of Ireland, say in the name of Ireland, that if England does force this war on, our sympathies will be with the gallant people rightly struggling to be free. (Cheers.)"

Independent, 9th October, 1899.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 8th October, 1899 :—

"Fellow-countrymen, I am only going to say to you a few words as Member for Clare. Parnell loved, we love, freedom in Ireland and all the world over, and therefore I am not ashamed or afraid—and I will say it next week in Parliament—that our sympathies are with the Boers. (Loud cheers.) I ask the men of Dublin to wind up this great demonstration by giving three cheers for gallant old Paul Kruger. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)"

Independent, 9th October, 1899.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Thurles, 17th March, 1900 :—

"They were told that the Queen's visit was non-political, but he did not believe it, and he wanted to know what brought her to Ireland. He believed that her object was, first to persuade the people of Europe that Ireland sympathised with England in the present war, and next to recruit Irish soldiers. Professing Nationalists who crawled or sprawled before the Queen when she came to Ireland would be enemies of the National cause. They would show England that they would not be humbugged by a Royal visit."

The Times, 20th March, 1900.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Phoenix Park, Dublin, 2nd September, 1900 :—

"The voice of the capital will be with the rest of Ireland (applause), that we will not tolerate in this old city that new type of politics which thinks it consistent with Irish Nationality to cringe and crouch before a foreign Queen."

Freeman's Journal, 3rd September, 1900.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 10th January, 1901 :—

"The Corporation within very recent times, contrary to the known sentiments of the people, degraded the National capital of Ireland by debasing itself at the feet of a Sovereign who was representative, when she came here, of that system of government which has ruined this city, which has depopulated Ireland, and which to-day keeps our country in chains. . . . The party in power for the moment has a large majority, but it is engaged in every part of the world in perilous enterprises, and we know not the day that in China, or, as I hope to God, in Capetown (loud cheers for De Wet), it may find itself overwhelmed with

such military and financial disaster as will easily turn away from it the support of the masses of the English people, and bring it and its proud majority to ruin."

Freeman's Journal, 11th January, 1901.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Dublin, 13th January, 1901 :—

"He was there to lend a hand in clearing out the men who had disgraced the city by voting an address to the Queen on the occasion of her recent visit to Dublin. These men had acted in a spirit of flunkeyism. Nothing was more disgusting in Irish national life than to see men one day erecting a statue to Wolfe Tone, and the next, clothed in scarlet robes, grovelling before the Queen of England."

The Times, 14th January, 1901.

Mr. DAVID SHEEHY, M.P., at Glin, Co. Limerick, 9th June, 1901 :—

"I suppose there is not a man here who is not in favour of the Boers (cheers) and anxious that they should beat the British. If the Boers were fighting the French or Germans we would be scarcely so enthusiastic. We regard England as a dominant nation, and any foe that strikes her, and dog that bites her, is our friend. (Cheers.)"

Cork Examiner, 14th June, 1901.

Mr. DAVID SHEEHY, M.P., at Athea, 16th June, 1901 :—

"It was not out of regard for the Boers all that feeling of unanimity in their struggle was aroused ; it was not because the Boers had displayed such valour—it would have been the same had their opponents been Russian, French or Spanish. It was solely because the sympathy of the Irish race and people was against the English oppressor. (Cheers.) This was the whole cause of their admiration for the Boers, and of their desire for their success, and to see the British flag pulled down, their bayonets broken, and their power destroyed."

Limerick Leader, 20th June, 1901.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., in the House of Commons, 2nd August, 1901 :—

"Speaking as the representative of a body of members of the House who, at any rate, had been consistent throughout on the question of the war, he prayed God that the resistance of the Boers might be strengthened, and that South Africa might sooner or later take vengeance for its wrongs by separating itself altogether from the Empire which had deluged it in blood, and become a free and independent nation."

The Times, 3rd August, 1901.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Ennis, 28th September, 1901 :—

"As far as he was concerned, so long as he was their member and while he was in the House of Commons, he would be the enemy of British tyranny, whether in Ireland or South Africa. When a short time ago he crossed the seas to Holland to pay his respects to the grand old man President Kruger, he did something that the true Nationalists of Clare believed was right, and he told President Kruger, as he shook his hand, that the men he represented in Clare were with him and his gallant countrymen heart and soul, and he then knew

that he was only saying what every true man in Clare would have said to him if he had the opportunity. They were sometimes told, because the Government had a strong majority, they could get nothing for Ireland, but strong as the Government majority was, they could not put down liberty in South Africa; and between the 80 members on the floor of the House of Commons next year and Botha and De Wet in South Africa, with God's help they would teach John Bull that the days of his tyranny were over."

Irish Daily Independent, 30th September, 1901.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Galway, 18th October, 1901 :—

"He had heard a rumour that day that Mr. Lynch might not be eligible as a candidate, even if the Convention selected him, and that he would be unable to land on the shores of Ireland; that there was something mysterious about him. To hear this, one would think he was guilty of some dark and deep mysterious crime. (Laughter.) What was the fact? It was said that he went to South Africa (cheers) and raised an army, and did his best on the side of struggling liberty in Africa in defence of the cause of the Boer Republic. (Cheers.) Was that a crime in the minds of the Nationalists of Galway? (Cries of 'No.') Was that a reason why he should not receive their support? (Cries of 'No.') No, quite the contrary; and he misjudged their feelings if they were not the same as those of every true Nationalist throughout the country—the feelings of honour and of pride at having an opportunity of showing how they can respect Irishmen who risked their liberty, and, perhaps, their lives in protecting the cause of liberty when attacked by Britain. (Cheers.) . . . He was perfectly certain that Mr. Lynch would be received into the Irish Nationalist Party with feelings of sympathy and welcome."

Freeman's Journal, 19th October, 1901.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., in the Carnegie Hall, New York, 1901 :—

"The United Irish League proposed to advance the national cause by making the Government of Ireland by England, in every department, difficult, dangerous, and finally impossible."

Irish Times, 6th November, 1901.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Gorey, Co. Wexford, 8th December, 1901 :—

"Thank God, they had lived to see the day when John Bull had been taken by the throat by an army of men in Africa who were giving him the greatest 'whaling' he ever got. That Government might strengthen their arms, and help these men to carry on the war until they danced on the chest of John Bull."

Freeman's Journal, 9th December, 1901.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Greenock, 14th March, 1902 :—

"He would tell Lord Rosebery and all who thought with him that the Irish never would be loyal except to a Government of Irishmen who were responsible to the people of Ireland. The existing system of Government had no claim to their allegiance, and to-morrow, if they could overthrow it by physical force, they would do so."

The Times, 15th March, 1902.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., in the House of Commons, 17th April, 1902 :—

“ I take the opportunity of admitting in this House that I am intensely disloyal ; and the Chief Secretary himself knows that in making that admission I am giving the best and most adequate expression I could give to the sentiments of more than three-fourths of the Irish nation.”

Parliamentary Debates, 17th April, 1902. Vol. 106. Col. 599.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Belfast, 10th September, 1902 :—

“ When the new Lieutenant came to Dublin, he hoped the thousands of Dublin would meet him and let him know what they thought of his Government and the proclamation of Coercion. He stated as his belief that coercion was introduced to drive the people from constitutional methods to the perpetration of crime. He believed that attempt would fail. The people were in union both in Ireland and in Parliament, and that union would be maintained. At the same time he said there that he wished to God—and there were tens of thousands in Ireland who also wished to God—that their people had the chance with arms in their hands. If they had that chance, then the only answer, the right and proper answer, to the proclamation would be to march to Dublin Castle and tear Wyndham out of it.”

Irish Times, 11th September, 1902.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL, M.P., at Clones, 15th August, 1903 :—

“ They were assembled that day to tell the British Government that no matter what Bills they gave them, until they gave them the right to govern themselves they would never be content, as loyal subjects, under the Crown of England. There could be no clearer proof that the men of Ireland are true to liberty than the fact that alone amongst the nations of the earth they stood and fought on the floor of the House of Commons against the cruel tyranny of the destruction of the South African Republic. . . .

“ John Bull was the champion bully of the world, and he was more afraid of the enmity of this little unarmed nation than of the enmity of the biggest Empire on the map of Europe.”

Freeman's Journal, 17th August, 1903.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at New Ross, 23rd June, 1907 :—

“ This fight will go on, and we tell her (Great Britain) frankly that the choice of weapons with which we will work will be a mere question of expediency with us, because we believe that we are entitled in this movement to use every weapon which is open to a God-tearing race such as the Irish.

“ We tell her that we to-day hate her rule just as bitterly as our forefathers did.

“ We tell her that we are as much rebels to her rule to-day as our forefathers were in '98.”

Freeman's Journal, 24th June, 1907.

Mr. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 4th September, 1907 :—

“ To-day it is an admitted fact that the overwhelming majority of the Irish people are thoroughly disaffected and disloyal to English rule.”

Freeman's Journal, 5th September, 1907.

Mr. W. REDMOND, M.P., at Lisdoonvarna, 20th September, 1908 :—

“ He came there first as an enemy of English rule in Ireland, and as a bitter and determined enemy of Irish landlordism, and all its works and pomps, and he would there that day tell to friend and foe alike that he was alike the enemy of English rule and of Irish landlordism.”

Clare Journal, 21st September, 1908.

Mr. J. P. FARRELL, M.P., at Longford, 29th May, 1910 :—

“ I was asked by a man if I would go to the King’s funeral, and I said that the King never came to any of our funerals ; if he were not King, there would not be half the bally rot that was talked about him . . . He did not believe that the King was a friend to Ireland ; they would soon know whether he was or not.”

Roscommon Herald, 4th June, 1910.

RESOLUTION passed at a meeting of the Mayo County Council, 2nd December, 1899, Mr. CONOR O’KELLY, M.P., in the chair :—

“ That we, the members of the Mayo County Council, congratulate the gallant Boers on their brilliant defeats of the troops of the pirate Saxon. That we hope that a just Providence will strengthen the arms of these farmer fighters in their brave struggle for their independence. And we trust that as Babylon fell, and as Rome fell, so also may fall the race and nation whose creed is the creed of greed and whose God is the God of Mammon.”

This resolution was afterwards adopted by twenty-seven Irish Nationalist local councils.

RESOLUTION unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Limerick City Branch of the United Irish League, held on the 20th September, 1901, Mr. JOYCE, M.P., in the chair :—

“ That we, the members of the City Branch United Irish League, hail with delight the late success achieved by the Boers in their fight with the British in South Africa, and we earnestly pray for their future success.”

Cork Examiner, 23rd September, 1901.

RESOLUTION adopted at a meeting held under the auspices of the United Irish League at Callan, 29th September, 1901, the principal speaker at which was Mr. O’MARA, M.P. :—

“ That we congratulate the brave Boers on the fight they are making for the freedom of their native land, and hope that the God of Justice may bring their efforts to a successful issue. (Applause.) ”

Freeman’s Journal, 30th September, 1901.

RESOLUTION unanimously adopted at a meeting of the South Sligo Executive of the United Irish League :—

“ That we offer our whole-hearted sympathy to the men of the little Transvaal nation, and wish them success in the war they are waging with such bravery in defence of their homes and the independence of their country.”

Freeman’s Journal, 2nd November, 1899.

Major J. M'BRIDE, at Kilkenny, 28th November, 1909 :—

"You are all familiar with the ballad which says 'The French are on the Sea,' but nowadays we know it is the Germans that are taking to the sea, and we can only pray that they will not remain so long at sea as the French have. Should they land in Ireland they will be received with willing hearts and strong hands, and should England be their destination, it is to be hoped that they will find time to disembark 100,000 rifles and a few score of cannon, with ammunition for same, in this country, and twelve months later this land will be as free as the Lord God meant it should be."

Kilkenny People, 4th December, 1909.

Major J. M'BRIDE, in St. Mary's Minor Hall, Belfast, 3rd March, 1911 :—

"Personally he laid claim to no gifts of oratorical eloquence. **The rhetoric he would like to hear was the crack of the rifle and the rattle of the machine gun when directed against the power of England.** He had the pleasure of contributing to such rhetoric in South Africa. . . . Followers of Emmet, like myself, were sometimes accused of foolishly urging their countrymen to appeal to arms. That was not true. They had to lament, and still lamented, the useless waste of Irish money on the different Parliamentary movements, elections, law expenses and such like vagaries. If the countless wealth thus squandered from Emmet's time to our own had been used in the maintenance and development of their industries, in the education of their people, in the purchasing of arms to put into the hands of young Ireland, should occasion arise for their utility, Ireland to-day would be numbered amongst the Republics of the world. **A foreign ruler was about to visit Ireland in order to receive the grovelling homage of his garrison and the whining adulation of his place-hunters.** They were seldom without some epidemic. No doubt shoneens were still plentiful, but the young men of Ireland must make their power felt, and do their utmost to prevent any person or organisation, however influential, from prostituting the name of Ireland and misrepresenting the feelings of the manhood of their race. When England's King came to Ireland they must try and force the conviction upon him that God created Irishmen the equal of any and every race, and that they would accept no ruler except one of their own free and untrammelled choosing. They owed no duty to England, and as their motto in one memorable agitation was 'No rents,' their policy now should be 'No recruits.' England's days were numbered, and fifty years hence there would be nothing left of her but an evil memory. No matter what Parliamentary measure was conceded, their aspirations would always be Ireland a nation."

Belfast Evening Telegraph, 4th March, 1911.

Major J. M'BRIDE, in another lecture under the auspices of the Dublin Central Branch, Sinn Fein, 29th March, 1911 :—

"England was not his country, and the English King was not his King. He owed no allegiance to England, and he indignantly repudiated the idea of any Englishman posing as censor on his words and on his acts as an Irishman. . . . **The English King would, no doubt, receive a reception from his garrison and from men who still believed that they had a country to sell,** but the manhood of Ireland would take no part in that reception." Continuing, he said "that four distinguished statesmen would also visit their country during the coming summer, and he hoped the Press of the world would take note and emphasise the machined reception that would be given to the King of England and the spontaneous welcome extended to the four elected rulers of the four youngest nations of the world. One of those statesmen would be General Louis Botha, a man under whom the Transvaal brigade had the pleasure of shooting Englishmen. The Transvaal

Brigade was organised for the purpose of paying back part of the debt which Ireland owed England. . . . The proudest time in their life was when they were fighting the British. . . . The sword had fallen from their hands at present, but **they hoped to pick it up again to fight for Ireland, and they would not stop until they had swept away every vestige of that empire of hell.** The Transvaal Brigade demonstrated to the world that Irishmen were not all English yet, that there were ways and means of striking against England. . . . **They should strike how they might and when they might against the Throne, the cursed British Empire, and for the Freedom of Ireland."**

Irish Times, 30th March, 1911.

Dublin Evening Telegraph, 6th May, 1911 :—

"IRISH NATIONAL BOY SCOUTS."

"On Sunday night last there was a very interesting lecture delivered by Major M'Bride on 'The Irish Brigade in the Transvaal.' Some 400 boys attended from the various branches in the city and counties, the organiser, the Countess de Markievicz, in the chair. The Countess, in opening the lecture, said there was very little need in introducing Major M'Bride or of telling the boys that the Major had fought with the Irish Brigade in the late South African War.

"The lecturer was received with a tremendous burst of cheering from the boys. He dealt with the sturdy Irishmen of the Irish Brigade, and said he was proud to stand before so many young boys, and hoped some day in the near future that they would strike a blow for freedom, as the Irish Brigade had done, and also pointed out to the members the necessity of paying strict attention to the work they had before them. The shortest way was to be obedient to their officers, as it was only through organising and discipline that the freedom of Ireland would be won. The boys were very much moved by the bravery, as pointed out by the lecturer, of the handful of Irish exiles who had fought for freedom in a foreign country invaded by their old enemy."

The Irish World, 26th December, 1908 :—

"It is to be hoped that the people of India, unlike the too humane Boers, will realise that in the conflict that is likely to ensue between a people long oppressed and the heartless oppressor, that they will have to deal with an opponent that is on no higher plane than a mad dog attacking, crunching, and destroying, regardless of sex or age; and it is to be hoped that the people of India will treat them accordingly. . . . English officials in India are robbers, sent there by England to plunder the poverty-stricken people. And, moreover, they are murderers . . .

"The war that will be waged by England in India will be a war of cruel murder, with rapine for its object. General Kitchener, who will command the undertaking, has already an unrivalled record for cold-blooded murder both in India and the Transvaal. 'The pig-stickers' who are under his command are as brutal and remorseless as he is."

FRIENDS ?

No apology is necessary for asking the reader to note the new tune played by Mr. John Redmond to British audiences so soon as he had in his pocket Mr. Asquith's promise (of December, 1909) to "toe the line" in regard to Home Rule. From that moment the Leader of the Nationalist Party made it his chief business to perambulate Great Britain with loud professions of friendship, which, however true, were decidedly new. His hope is now to lull the electorate into forgetting the speeches of himself and his colleagues during the past thirty years. My desire is to dispel that hope once and for all. The orations of many other Nationalists, dating from the same time and directed to the same jury of Englishmen, might be quoted ; but since Mr. Redmond provides the text from which his colleagues have to preach, it is unnecessary to publish their less responsible sermons.—EDITOR.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Bradford, 10th January, 1910 :—

"All that we ask under the name of Home Rule is that on purely Irish questions, mark you, questions that cannot concern either the National or the Imperial interests of Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Welshmen, affairs that are purely and solely Irish, that in the management of these affairs, Irish public opinion should be the governing power."

Freeman's Journal, 11th January, 1910.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 21st January, 1910 :—

"Well, now, we in this country to-day are not asking for what is understood in England as Separation."

Freeman's Journal, 22nd January, 1910.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., in *Reynolds' Newspaper*, 26th February, 1911 :—

"Let Englishmen understand once and for all, that we would as soon take our politics from Constantinople as from Rome, and that in our new Constitution we will welcome any safeguards the most timid can suggest, so long as they are consistent with ordinary Democratic principles to prevent even the remote possibility of injustice to our fellow-countrymen of any creed."

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., in *Reynolds' Newspaper*, 30th April, 1911 :—

"With a free Constitution, she (Ireland) will be loyal, in the best sense of the word, to-morrow."

"Give us Home Rule and we will be as loyal as Home Rule, and Home Rule alone, has made Canada, Australia, and South Africa."

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Woodford, 27th May, 1911 :—

"Whose Empire is this ? Yours ? No ; it is ours as well as yours."

"I say that Home Rule is not Separation, it is closer union ; it is not a weakening of the Empire, it is a strengthening of the Empire ; it is not an

injury to the Imperial Parliament, it is a freeing of the bonds of the Imperial Parliament so as to enable it to do the work which to-day it is absolutely unable to accomplish.

"It is the question of making . . . peace between the people of one great country and another, who desire to be friends.

"Give us freedom in Ireland and you will find that religious intolerance will disappear from the land."

Freeman's Journal, 29th May, 1911.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Dublin, 15th September, 1911 :—

" . . . that small and . . . rapidly diminishing minority of Irishmen who still say that they do not want to govern themselves, and that think their affairs and their country can be better governed by strangers in an absentee Parliament . . . are part of the Irish nation to-day. These men will be part, and will be a far more important and powerful part, of the Irish nation after Home Rule has been granted to this country . . . We want to regard them and consider them as brother Irishmen. We want them to have every right, every privilege, every liberty that we claim for ourselves."

Freeman's Journal, 16th September, 1911.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., in *Reynolds' Newspaper*, 24th September, 1911 :—

"Under a native Government, Ireland will be the most law-abiding nation in the world."

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Swindon, 9th October, 1911 :—

"Mark you, we are not asking for the repeal of this Union. We are asking only that you shall give to Ireland a subordinate Parliament, that is, a Parliament similar to the 28 subordinate Parliaments which already exist in different portions of the British Empire, and which, wherever they were created, stifled the voice of disaffection, stifled the cry of discontent, created loyalty, contentment and prosperity.

"We therefore admit the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament."

Bath and Wilts Chronicle, 10th October, 1911.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Glasgow, 12th October, 1911 :—

"They (the people of Ireland) do not ask, and have not asked for, separation from the Empire. They do not want to interfere with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

"All that the Irish people are asking for is legislative and executive control of purely Irish affairs, subject to the unimpaired supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

"I have never, in America or anywhere else, advocated the separation of Ireland from Great Britain."

Freeman's Journal, 13th October, 1911.

MR. J. REDMOND, M.P., at Rawtenstall, 4th November, 1911 :—

"What we mean by a subordinate Parliament is this—that whatever the Irish Parliament may do or will not do, the Imperial Parliament will remain supreme.

"The establishment of free institutions in Ireland would of itself make religious intolerance an absolute impossibility."

Freeman's Journal, 6th November, 1911.

MINORITIES MUST SUFFER.

The justice of the present Home Rule Bill is to be measured by the value of its "safeguards" for Minorities. The strength of safeguards depends on the bona fides of the Executive to which they are entrusted. We judge a servant, whether for domestic or State employment, by his past character. The following testimonials to character for justice and generosity and fair play speak for themselves, and condemn the men who uttered them out of their own mouths.—EDITOR.

Mr. PARNELL, M.P., at Ennis, 19th September, 1880 :—

"Now, what are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted? (Various shouts, among which 'Kill him' and 'Shoot him'.) Now, I think I heard somebody say 'Shoot him'—('Shoot him')—but I wish to point out to you a very much better way, a more Christian and a more charitable way, which will give the lost sinner an opportunity of repenting. (Hear, hear.) When a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted, you must show him on the roadside when you meet him, you must show him in the streets of the town, you must show him at the shop counter, you must show him in the fair and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from the rest of his kind as if he was a leper of old—you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it, if the population of a county in Ireland carry out this doctrine that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men within the county, and to transgress your unwritten code of laws. (Cheers)."

Parnell Commission Report, p. 38.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Templemore, Co. Tipperary, 10th October, 1880 :—

"I would not injure any man, but a way to deal with him is this: Do not have any communication with him at all; do not allow your children to mix with his children; do not speak to him, and have no dealings with him; neither buy nor sell with him; show in every way that you can that you regard him as what he is, that he is a traitor to his people and his country, and a friend of the oppressors of the people. Believe me, if you keep up that system for a short time, it will be far more effectual than if you shoot him, because no man can be punished for such a deed, and you will find that he will give way before long to the force of public opinion, and will hand back the farm, as many men have already done, back to its rightful owner."

Parnell Commission Report, p. 39.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Kilmovee, 5th December, 1886 :—

"When we come out of the struggle we will remember who were the people's friends, and who were the people's enemies, and deal out our reward to one and our punishment to the other."

Freeman's Journal, 6th December, 1886.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., Castlereagh, 5th December, 1886 :—

“ I tell these people that the time is at hand, and very close at hand, too, when the police will be our servants, when the police will be taking their pay from Mr. Parnell, when he will be Prime Minister of Ireland. And I warn the men to-day who take their stand by the side of landlordism, and signalise themselves as the enemies of the people that in the time of our power we will remember them.”

Daily News, 6th December, 1886.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at The Rotunda, Dublin, 23rd August, 1887 :—

“ Now let me say this, that if there be a man in Ireland base enough to back down, to turn his back on the fight now that coercion has passed, I pledge myself in the face of this meeting that I will denounce him from public platforms by name, and I pledge myself to the Government that, let that man be whom he may, his life will not be a happy one, either in Ireland or across the seas ; and I say this with the intention of carrying out what I say, and without the slightest fear of the interpretation which will be put upon what I say by the Tory newspapers.”

Freeman's Journal, 24th August, 1887.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Limerick, 20th September, 1887 :—

“ I say that a man who stands aside . . . is a dastard and a coward, and he and his children after him will be remembered in the days that are near at hand, when Ireland will be a free nation ; and when every man, and every man's children who have suffered imprisonment or been struck at in the cause of Ireland, will find it to be a mark of honour in those days of our prosperity.”

Freeman's Journal, 21st September, 1887.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Thurles, 25th October, 1888 :—

“ If the landlord is fair and reasonable, why of course we shall not strike at him, but so long as he does not take his stand in the ranks of the National Party, so long as he identifies himself—no matter what he may do about his own rents—with the ranks of the enemies and oppressors of Ireland—so long, I say, it is the duty of Irishmen, who have the hearts of freemen in their breasts, to hold aloof from him and treat him with contempt.”

Freeman's Journal, 26th October, 1888.

In the Handbook of the “ Catholic Association,” published September, 1903, appeared the following :—

“ Nobody should be so unreasonable as to expect the executive of the Association to reveal in full the methods by which they hope to redress their grievances, or to chastise the bigotry of their opponents.”

Handbook of Catholic Association, September, 1903.

The Chicago Citizen, 22nd February, 1908 :—

“ The Irish people are justified, in spite of a thousand foreign-made laws in maintaining the national will, and forcing every Irishman to respect it under penalty. It is for them to say what that penalty shall be . . . There should be no room in Ireland for a Unionist Irishman or Irishwoman, we don't care whether he or she be high or low, rich or poor, bishop, priest or nun.”

Mr. JOHN REDMOND, M.P., at Coalisland, 13th October, 1906 :—

“ I know, of course, that there is one section of the minority opposed to us that has no title to the name of either honest or intelligent—a section that it is impossible and hopeless to seek to conciliate or placate, a section that will, I believe, to the bitter end, continue their policy of hatred and ascendancy. I am not speaking of them—after all, in reality, they are only a handful even of the Protestants of Ulster, and **I fear they must be overborne by the strong hand.**”

Freeman's Journal, 14th October, 1906.

The Chicago Citizen, 18th February, 1911 :—

“ An Irishman who opposes the right of his country to self-government has no claim upon the tolerance of his countrymen. In any country under God's blue heavens he would be treated as a traitor. Why should different treatment be accorded him in Ireland ?

“ An Irish Unionist has no more justification for his conduct than an Englishman intriguing against his country in the interest of Germany, and he should be made to feel it if the Irish people are in earnest.”

Mr. JOHN DILLON, at Salford, 21st November, 1911 :—

“ . . . Then there was the question of guarantees. The Irish Party were asked if they were willing that guarantees should be inserted in the Home Rule measure to protect the Protestant minority. He (Mr. Dillon) attached no importance to these guarantees at all. He did not believe that artificial guarantees in an Act of Parliament were any real protection. He did not believe that the wit of man or the skill of a statesman could devise guarantees in an Act of Parliament which could protect the people who persisted in bitterly opposing the will of the great majority of their countrymen.”

Freeman's Journal, 22nd November, 1911.

“ENGLAND’S COWARD ARMY.”

I.

The Nationalist cue to-day is to plead for Home Rule as an act of justice to those who have helped to make the British Empire what it is. “Our sons have fought and died for you in your Navy and your Army. Can you deny this measure of justice to the sons of men so loyal and so brave?” A few moments’ attention to the following extracts will show the arrant humbug of such a plea. Whatever men could do to thwart their fellow-countrymen from joining the British Army and Navy, these Nationalist agitators have done ; but, thank God, in vain.—EDITOR.

—

Mr. PATRICK O’BRIEN, M.P., at Dublin, 1st October, 1899 :—

“He would not say shame to the Irishmen who belonged to British Regiments, because he had hopes that before they lined up against the Boers they would remember they were Irishmen, and that instead of firing on the Boers they would fire on the Englishmen. It was encouraging to think that out in the Transvaal there were a body of Irishmen ready and willing to go into the field against England. From our heart of hearts we say ‘God speed them.’”

Irish Daily Independent, 2nd October, 1899.

Mr. T. O’DONNELL, M.P., at Churchill, Co. Kerry, 29th September, 1901 :—

“He was passing through Tralee that day, and a more sickening, disgraceful sight he never witnessed than what he saw there . . . To see a fine, brave, hearty lot of young Irishmen marching in red coats down the streets of Tralee that day to the beat of the drum which leads to plunder and strives to strangle Nationality the world over, was a spectacle which should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every self-supporting Irishman.”

Cork Examiner, 1st October, 1901.

Mr. JOYCE, M.P., at Knocklong, 6th October, 1901 :—

“There was another kind of emigration which he wished to say a word on, and that was with regard to the recruiting sergeant’s emigration. He had pledged himself to denounce on every public platform this system of enlistment in England’s coward army.”

Limerick Leader, 7th October, 1901.

Mr. JOYCE, M.P., at Patrickswell, 20th October, 1901 :—

“He would advise young men, if the recruiting sergeant came within their reach (a voice : ‘To—with him’—laughter) and if he enticed or tried to entice their young men to join the ranks of England’s hireling army, to tell him to go to the devil—to tell him that they had an army at home, the United Irish League army, that they would join, and let England and Englishmen fight their own battles, and believe him they had more, as the old saying had it, than a dish to wash.”

Freeman’s Journal, 23rd October, 1901.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., at Tralee, 20th October, 1901 :—

“ I see that there is a gentleman coming over here looking for recruits for the Irish Guards. I hope you will put him out of Kerry if he comes here.”

Freeman's Journal, 21st October, 1901.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P., in the House of Commons, 17th March, 1909 :—

“ If you provoke America into taking the field against you, I warn you, and I know what I am talking about, that America has resources which would enable her to beat you alone and single handed, and that in a very short time. . . . Do not be boasting and bragging about the British flag sweeping the seas, or the day will come when it will not be the British, but the American, flag that will sweep the seas.”

Parliamentary Debates, Cols. 1112-3.

Major M'BRIDE, in a speech reported in the *Kilkenny People* of 4th December, 1909, said :—

“ I appeal to you most earnestly to do all in your power to prevent your countrymen from entering the degraded British Army. If you prevent 500 men from enlisting you do nearly as good work, if not quite so exciting, as if you shot 500 men on the field of battle, and also you are making the path smoother for the approaching conquest of England by Germany. Let one of your mottoes be ‘ No recruits for England.’ ”

“ Should they (Germans) land in Ireland, they will be received with willing hearts and strong hands, and should England be their destination, it is to be hoped that they will find time to disembark 100,000 rifles and a few score of ammunition for the same in this country, and twelve months later this island will be as free as the Lord God meant it should be.”

Kilkenny People, 4th December, 1909.

II.

Subjoined are true copies of Leaflets and Posters distributed wholesale through the length and breadth of Ireland at a time when Irish soldiers were fighting for the Empire in South Africa. They should be attentively studied by all who are sincerely anxious to believe that the Nationalist Party is loyal at heart to King and Country.—EDITOR.

ANY IRISHMAN
JOINING ENGLAND'S ARMY, NAVY, OR POLICE FORCE,
TAKES HIS STAND IN THE CAMP OF THE GARRISON.
HE IS A TRAITOR TO HIS COUNTRY AND AN ENEMY OF
HIS PEOPLE.

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF IRELAND.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—

The English Army has been discredited in South Africa. England is looking for more soldiers, and as Englishmen no longer fight well, she wants a hundred thousand Irish soldiers to fill the gaps made in the ranks of her Army by the gallant burghers of the South African Republic.

She is sending her hirelings on a recruiting tour through Ireland.

The British Empire, that huge fabric raised on the ruined homes and famished corpses of your ancestors, is tottering. Will you help to sustain it? If Irishmen had not fought the battles of England there would be no British Empire to oppress us now.

Will you still fight in her unjust wars? Listen first to what Father Kavanagh has to say: "Every man who engages in such war is guilty of grievous sin, and if he die without repenting it he must suffer the loss of his soul. This is the doctrine of the Catholic Church." Will you imperil your soul, betray your country, and

Go—to find 'mid crime and toil

The doom to which such guilt is hurried!

Go—to leave on foreign soil

Your bones to bleach, accursed, unburied!

Go—to crush the just and brave

Whose wrongs with wrath the world are filling!

Go—to slay each brother slave,

Or spurn the blood-stained Saxon Shilling.

Will you help to make the enemy of your country more powerful? No! Reserve your strength until the day of Ireland's resurrection, when you can leave your homes to fight in the cause of justice and fatherland. Remember '98! Remember the Penal Laws! Remember the Famine—think of the ruined homes and Emigrant ships.

If you join this English Army you help to keep the handcuffs on the wrists of Ireland, your Mother.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—

You are called upon by all true Irishmen to abstain from joining the British Army or Navy. Any Irishman who does so is a traitor to his country, as he sells himself to Ireland's enemy.

GOD SAVE IRELAND.

TRAITORS TO IRELAND.

SHAME!

SHAME!

SHAME!

WHO ARE THEY?

They are the young men of Irish Race and Irish blood who take the

SAXON SHILLING.

England cannot get men to fight her robber wars, and she is looking out for Irish fools to enlist under her bloody flag.

WHAT SHALL BE THE FATE OF THESE?

They shall be used to butcher some brave, inoffensive people like the Boers or Tibetans, who venture to defend the liberty of their own country: and finally get butchered themselves or die in droves of disease out in some tropical climate, and be buried like dogs in pits, over which no friend shall ever breathe a prayer or weep a tear.

IRISHMEN, you have only one life to live—do not disgrace yourselves and your kindred by selling yourselves to the arch enemy of your country. There is not an Irishman to-day whose forefathers did not suffer, bleed, starve, and die in hundreds fighting against English tyranny, and they went down to their graves cursing the very name of England.

Remember Emmet, Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward, Oliver Plunkett and Shane O'Neill, murdered at the feast, and Hugh Roe, poisoned in Spain.

Remember the Butcheries of Drogheda, Wexford, Smerwick, Mullaghmast, and of 1798. Remember Coote, Cromwell, Carew, Mountjoy. Remember the famine, when England allowed a million Irishmen and women to die, whom she could have saved.

After 700 years of occupation of this country we are one of the poorest nations on earth. 'Tis England has made us so, and still keeps us so by robbing us of 13 millions a year.

An Irishman, knowing these things, who enlists under England's blood-red flag, is one of the meanest curs in creation. He is a disgrace to himself, his family and his country.

Young men, if you know of any such person, or even one who contemplates enlisting, shun him as you would a mad dog or a poisonous viper.

Do not enlist. Do not become armed robbers for English money-lenders. You would get the bullets, they would get the gold.

Remember always an Irishman who enlists in the Army, Navy, and Police Force, is a

TRAITOR TO HIS COUNTRY.

YOUNG MEN OF MAGHERA.

BEWARE OF THE RECRUITER!

KEEP OUT OF THE COMPANY OF THE BRITISH SOLDIER.

REMEMBER! HE WHO JOINS THE BRITISH ARMY OR KEEPS THE COMPANY OF
BRITISH SOLDIERS IS A RENEGADE.

All this Marching and Parading which is going on through the Country is for the purpose of getting young Irishmen to join the British Army, and young Irishmen, remember that you owe Allegiance to Ireland and for Ireland only. Are you to don the Soldier's coat?

Fathers and Mothers.—If you love your children, and wish them to lead pure lives, keep them in the house whilst the British Soldiery are on the streets of Maghera, and tell them how their forefathers were treated by the British Soldiers in 1798.

IRISHMEN AND THE BRITISH ARMY.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

Have you not seen that from the first the motto of our invaders has been "Divide and Conquer"?

Six hundred years ago, a King of England, Edward I., rebuked his Governor in Ireland for stirring up a war between the Chiefs of Leinster and Connaught in which the King of Connaught and two thousand of his men lay dead after a single battle. And the Governor's defence was—"That in policy he thought it expedient to wink at one knave cutting off another, and that would soon fill the King's coffers and purchase peace to the land"—whereat the King smiled and bade him return to Ireland. Three hundred years later, in 1565, another Governor wrote to Westminster that "he acted with the wild Irish as with bears and ban dogs, so that he sees them fighting earnestly and tug one another well he cares not who had the worst."

Thus we see that England conquered Ireland not on one field of battle, not by her own manhood, but because she was mean enough and cunning enough to pit one clan against its fellow, one Irishman against another, one family against itself; and we were simple enough, through our very love of danger and our lust of battle, to play her game.

That was in the old days; and by playing it we lost our land, our place among peoples of the earth, our right to look all men in the face and say—"I am an Irishman."

And what do we see to-day ? Here among the remnant of our race, here among the people she has reduced to poverty of everything save stout hearts and fearless blood, England still comes seeking for Irishmen to fight her battles and to entice them to her bloodstained standards, red with the blood of the peaceful peoples she has destroyed to make her Empire

Here to-day on the banks of the Shannon she appeals to the bitter past of dissension she sowed among our fathers to invest with reality a mimic war, a sham fight, she would create for her own purposes between the people of Connaught and Munster. Her motto is still "Divide and Conquer." We are to be won to her Army, not by the Recruiting Sergeant's Shilling only, but by a cunning appeal to our traditional courage and a wicked attempt to carry war into Munster and Connaught which shall fill our young men with wondering admiration and make them long to show their inherent valour on a real field of battle.

But men of the Shannon's side, have you so soon forgotten for what your fathers died ? Was it to give soldiers to England that Sarsfield held Limerick ? That Irish blood was poured out like the Shannon's stream itself on Aughrin's fatal field ? Not so ; they died to save Ireland from England, and when you see the English Army to-day crossing the Shannon, remember, brother Irishman, it was along the line of the Shannon that Ireland last defended her nationality.

Think, too, what is the real war that England will take you to if you are caught by the sham fight she has started to-day on the shores of the Shannon !

Why does she paint the show of war so glorious and hide the hideous cruelty of the real war for which it is she wants your bodies ?

Do you not know by this time, men of Munster, Leinster and Connaught, that war means burning homesteads, depopulating countries, famine, and destruction of women and children—fields of slaughter whereon good and brave men go out and die in order that greedy and cowardly men may skulk at home and grow rich on the blood of the simple soldier ?

We who are still kindly Irish of the Irish, shall we enlist in a band of murderers, sworn to kill without question our brother men, whose crime is that they have countries to defend, wives to love, children to protect ?

Shall we again go forth to burn and slay, as we did the brave Boers, at the bidding of England ?

We are a nation still, not a province, and here on the Shannon's banks we still remember Limerick. Turn, then, with contempt from the gaudy sham arrayed to trick us. Scorn these sham soldiers who come to tempt our brave-hearted boys to embark on a career whose real end is destruction.

They think that at the sight of their marching regiments, at the sound of their regimental band, our people will be filled with ardour for the glory of the British Empire.

But any man joining England's Army takes his stand in the camp of the garrison ; he is a traitor to his country and an enemy of his people. Any man entering her service betrays his own land and goes over to her enemies. Let England fight her own battles, we have done it long enough.

Let her arm and drill the population of her slums ; the men of the hills and country places of Ireland will go no more.

Let her fight for the extension of her Empire herself, for the men of the Gael are not going to be bribed into betraying themselves and their country at the bidding of England.

Enlisting in the English Army is treason to Ireland.

Go—to find 'mid crime and toil.

The doom to which such guilt is hurried ;

Go—to leave on foreign soil

Your bones to bleach, accursed, unburied ;

Go—to crush the just and brave,

Whose wrongs with wrath the world are filling ;

Go—to slay each brother slave,

Or spurn the blood-stained Saxon Shilling.

Fellow-Countrymen, the English Army has been discredited in South Africa. England is looking for more soldiers; she wants 100,000 men, and as Englishmen no longer fight well, she is sending the so-called Irish Guards on a recruiting tour through Ireland.

She is alarmed because she has earned the hostility of the world by her wickedness. Will you help to make the enemy of our country safe? She has new plans of conquest. Will you help to make the enemy of our country more powerful? It is probable that if Irishmen had not fought in English battles there would be no British Empire to oppress us now. Will you still fight in her unjust wars? Listen first to what the Rev. Father Kavanagh has to say—

“Every man who engages in such a war is guilty of grievous sin, and if he dies without repenting of it must suffer the loss of his soul. This is the doctrine of the Catholic Church.”

Will you imperil your soul and betray your country? Remember '98. Remember the Penal Laws. Remember the Famine—think of the ruined homes and the emigrant ships.

If you join the English Army you help to keep the handcuffs upon the wrists of Ireland, your mother.

IRISHMEN.

Will you keep your country enslaved and under the heel of England by joining England's Army, Navy or Police forces? Have you no love for the motherland that bore you—the land that has been pauperised and denuded of population so that England might fatten while she gloats over the degradation that has been put upon our stricken and persecuted land? The chains of bondage are fastened tightly around the wrists of your loving mother. Will you lend your aid in fastening them still tighter by joining the forces that are keeping her enslaved?

It is Ireland's God-given right to be a free and independent nation amongst the nations of the earth. She has all the attributes of a nation. She has an unrivalled position in the highways of the world for participation in its trade and commerce. But her land is going out of tillage; her woods are destroyed; her bogs—a veritable gold mine—are unworked; her mines and mineral wealth are undeveloped; her harbours well nigh derelict; her manufactures are languishing; her population is dwindling; her education stunted and misdirected; and her children taught to look to England to succour her in her hour of affliction, a condition of things brought about by the English Garrison's occupation of Ireland.

Our country has all the possibilities of a great and powerful nation. Her ancient history proves that she once occupied the proud position of instructress of the nations of the earth.

It is in our hands to refuse to enter the forces of the English Crown. Let us fight the battle of Ireland here on our own sod.

Don't be deluded by the wiles and false promises of the enlisting Sergeant. Regiments of the British Army with Irish names like the Connaught Rangers, Munster Fusiliers, Irish Rifles or Dublin Fusiliers, etc., are only Irish in their title. The man who joins them is an anti-Irishman. They are part of the English Garrison holding Ireland in subjection.

An Irishman who joins the Militia commits an act of treason to Ireland equally with the Irishman who enters any of the other English forces. The English Government, finding they were unable to find dupes sufficient to fill up the gaps in the Regular Army, have had recourse to a device which gives them the power of compelling Militia regiments to go on foreign service without obtaining the consent of the men themselves. Before disbanding, the men are often times deluded by false promises into giving their consent to join the Regular Forces, and therefore the Militia provides a fruitful hunting ground for the enlisting Sergeant.

Hearken to the words of Father Kavanagh, the Irish Franciscan patriot Priest, who pronounces it a heinous crime against Ireland for Irishmen to enter the forces of robber England ; and he who engages in one of England's unjust wars is guilty of deadly sin. Make a vow that you will not recognise or mix with any man who dons the livery of an Irish slave—the red or black coat, or blue jacket, and keep your children from mixing with this anti-Irish horde, the slaughterers of the Innocent Boer women and children.

They would not hesitate to slaughter their own kith and kin to-morrow, as they have often done before, to carry out England's dirty work.

You can assist in the uplifting of the Irish nation by refraining from entering the English Forces. If you are an Irishman you will be true to Ireland, and by refusing to take the cursed Saxon Shilling you will lend a hand in restoring your mother Erin to Nationhood.

SAVE THE MILITIA.

The Irish Regiments having been almost all slaughtered by being put in the front to protect the cowardly English, the Government is now trying to grab the Militia for fresh slaughter. The Dublin Fusiliers, the Connaughts, the Royal Irish, and similar regiments have *been wiped out*. The North Corks, the Dublin Militia, the Wexfords, the Clare Militia, the Mayo Militia, the Limerick Militia—these are all marked down for murder.

The ignorant Militiamen are fooled with promises of being only wanted for Malta or the Channel Islands, and then, like the North Corks, dragged as prisoners on board ship, and hurried to South Africa to shield the English Guards from the bullets of the heroic Boers.

Save the Militia. Let them know what is in store for them. Appeal to the Priests not to abandon thousands of the poor to death and mutilation in a war of Hell.

The curse of Ireland's Martyred Dead be on the Irishmen, Priest or Layman, who allows the wretched Irish Militia to be trapped into slaughter to aid the Felon work of Ireland's Tyrants.

GOD SAVE IRELAND.

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